

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 160124
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF:LWALKER:JR
APPROVED BY P - MR. NEWSOM
S/S RCASTRODALE S/P:MASPIEGEL
EB - RHORMATS HA:RMAXIM
NSC - GERB EB/OF:JOHNSON
TREASURY- FMARESC AF:RMMOOSE
AID - GBUTCHER
AID/FFP - DSHAUGHNESSY(SUBS)
AID/OFDA - CHOLMES HA/ORM:GMETSON
AGRICULTURE - JKEEFER (SUBS)
-----028497 231314Z /47

P 231252Z JUN 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 160124

EXDIS FOR THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EA, ID, MOPS, CG

SUBJECT: FY -78 ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR ZAIRE: REQUEST
FOR RECOMMENDATIONS
REFS: KINSHASA 6429 (EXDIS); KINSHASA 6507

1. WE ARE SHORTLY GOING TO FACE THE DIFFICULT DECISION
OF WHETHER TO PROCEED WITH OUR FY-78 ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
PROGRAMS, PL-480 AND THE SSA LOAN, AND THE JUDGMENT
THAT WILL BE MADE WILL CENTER AROUND THE QUESTION OF
WHETHER WE CAN BELIEVE THAT MOBUTU IS GOING TO
UNDERTAKE THE RANGE OF REFORMS THAT YOU HAVE
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RECOMMENDED, IN ADDITION TO THOSE THAT HAVE EMERGED
OVER THE YEARS AND ARE REFLECTED IN THE IMF PROGRAM, THE
MOBUTU PLAN, THE PARIS "REFORM" DEMARCHE AND THE BRUSSELS
"CONSENSUS."

2. AT BRUSSELS, WE ASSUMED THAT THE FIVE-POWER
DEMARCHE AIMED BASICALLY AT POLITICAL REFORMS WOULD

TAKE PLACE AND THAT MOBUTU WOULD UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT THE URGENCY OF RECONCILIATION WITH SHABA AND WITH ANGOLA AS WELL AS THE LOGIC OF POLITICAL DE-CENTRALIZATION. WE FURTHER HOPED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER WOULD BRING HOME OUR STRONG FEELINGS

ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CORRUPTION. BASED ON THESE ASSUMPTIONS, IN BRUSSELS WE CONCENTRATED ON THE ECONOMIC REFORMS WHICH ARE REQUIRED IF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IS TO BE FORTHCOMING AND EFFECTIVE. WE BASICALLY AGREED WITH THE ZAIRIANS' PROMISE TO MOVE QUICKLY TO AN IMF STABILIZATION AGREEMENT AND TO INITIATE THE REFORMS IN THE "MOBUTU PLAN," NOTABLY THE EARLY ASSIGNMENT OF FOREIGN EXPERTS AT THE CENTRAL BANK, THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND IN CUSTOMS. BUT THE US DELEGATION ALSO INSISTED THAT THE ZAIRIANS DEMONSTRATE IN THE INTERIM THAT THEY WERE USING THEIR OWN FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESOURCES IN A RATIONAL WAY TO ADDRESS ESSENTIAL IMPORT REQUIREMENTS.

3. IN SUM, WE TOLD THE ZAIRIANS THAT BEFORE WE COULD PROCEED WITH OUR PL-480 AND SSA PROGRAMS, WE WOULD HAVE TO SEE THEIR FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET COVERING THE NEXT THREE MONTHS, AND RECEIVE ASSURANCES THAT IT WOULD BE FOLLOWED, I.E., NO SQUANDERING OF RESOURCES
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A LA UNCLE LITHO, ETC. WE ALSO ASKED FOR EVIDENCE OF THE STEPS THE GOZ IS TAKING TO REPATRIATE FOREIGN EXCHANGE, SPECIFICALLY COFFEE RECEIPTS. THE AMERICAN REQUIREMENTS WERE IN ADDITION TO THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED IN THE BRUSSELS "CONSENSUS" DOCUMENT, WHICH IN PARAGRAPH SEVEN INCLUDED SPECIFIC STEPS WHICH WOULD PROCEED AHEAD WITH EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE OVER THE NEXT THREE MONTHS.

4. NOW WE HAVE SEEN THE RESULTS OF THE FIVE-POWER DEMARCHES AND MOBUTU'S JUNE 21 SPEECH. AT BEST, WE HAVE A REITERATION OF MOBUTU'S PLEDGE TO UNDERTAKE THE ECONOMIC REFORMS AND A PROMISE TO UNDERTAKE MILITARY REFORMS. HE HAS EVADED THE INTERNAL POLITICAL REFORMS, NOTABLY SHABA RECONCILIATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS. IF OUR READING IS CORRECT, WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO PROCEED WITH THE PL-480 AND THE SSA -- EVEN IF THE GOZ PRODUCES THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET WE ASKED FOR. THE REASON IS STRAIGHTFORWARD: WHAT WE ARE AFTER IS THE PROCESS OF WIDE RANGING REFORMS WHICH DEMONSTRATE THAT THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE WAY MOBUTU OPERATES. IF MOBUTU REALLY

UNDERSTANDS THIS, HE WILL UNDERTAKE SIGNIFICANT GESTURES TO SHOW THAT HE HAS CHANGED.

5. FOR EXAMPLE, AND IT IS ONLY ONE EXAMPLE, WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY TOLD HIM THAT THE NGUZA CASE IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN OUR RELATIONSHIP. IF MOBUTU

CONTINUES TO STONEWALL ON RELEASING NGUZA, OR AT LEAST GRANTING READY ACCESS TO HIM BY THE ICRC OR OTHER RECOGNIZED INTERNATIONAL BODIES -- WE WILL HAVE TO CONCLUDE THAT OUR MESSAGE HAS NOT GOTTEN ACROSS -- AND AS PRESIDENT CARTER SAID IN HIS LETTER, THIS WILL HAVE INEVITABLE EFFECTS ON OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS. OTHER EXAMPLES INCLUDE DISASSOCIATING
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PAGE 04 STATE 160124

HIMSELF FROM LITHO AND OTHER CORRUPT FAMILY ELEMENTS, REAL EFFORTS TO PUT AN END TO FAZ PILLAGING, AND OTHER GESTURES YOU HAVE RECOMMENDED.

6. IN VIEW OF THE FOREGOING, WE LOOK TO YOU AND THE COUNTRY TEAM NOW FOR (A) JUDGMENT AS TO WHETHER THE ZAIRIANS WILL PRODUCE THE MINIMUM REQUIREMENT LAID DOWN AT BRUSSELS, I.E., THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET AND (B) ASSUMING WE DO GET THE BUDGET, A RECOMMENDATION AS TO WHETHER WE SHOULD GO AHEAD WITH THE PL-480 AGREEMENT AND THE SSA LOAN. IN SUM, KNOWING WHAT WE KNOW NOW AND ANTICIPATING THE RECEIPT OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET WOULD WE BE JUSTIFIED IN GOING AHEAD WITH PROGRAMMED FY -78 ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, AND BE CONFIDENT THAT MOBUTU WILL INDEED MOVE TO UNDERTAKE THE KIND OF REFORM WE ENVISAGED JUST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE? OR (C) WHETHER WE SHOULD GO AHEAD WITH PART OF OUR FY 78 PROGRAM BUT HOLD BACK ON THE REST UNTIL WE SEE EVIDENCE OF REFORM.

7. WE ALSO NEED FROM YOU RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC QUESTIONS:

-- (A) ASSUMING THE PL-480 AGREEMENT GOES AHEAD,
-- WOULD YOU FAVOR SWITCHING THE DOLS 8 MILLION
-- TOBACCO COMPONENT INTO FOODSTUFFS? AID
-- STRONGLY FAVORS BUT CONCERNED OVER ABILITY TO
-- SWITCH FULL AMOUNT.

-- (B) ASSUMING THE SSA LOAN PROCEEDS, WE NOTE
-- THAT OF THE REMAINING DOLS 8.3 MILLION, ONLY
-- ABOUT DOLS 4.9 MILLION WILL BE IN BALANCE
-- OF PAYMENTS SUPPORT. DO

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PAGE 05 STATE 160124

- YOU WISH TO KEEP MIX SUGGESTED IN
- KINSHASA 6164 OR MOVE BULK IN A REGULAR CIP
- LOAN IN VIEW OF THE NEED FOR SPARES AND
- RAW MATERIALS?

- (C) WHAT WOULD YOU THINK OF TYING THE SSA FUNDS
- TO THE ASSUMPTION OF DUTIES BY THE IMF EXPERTS,
- OR INDEED TRANCHING BOTH PL-480 AND SSA TO
- FURTHER EVIDENCE OF REFORM?

8. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE DRAWN A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND OUR REGULAR AID PROGRAMS. IN THE CASE OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, THE ONLY CONDITION WE POSE IS THAT THERE IS AN IDENTIFIED NEED AND THAT WE HAVE ASSURANCES THAT THE AID WILL REACH THE INTENDED RECIPIENTS. WE HAVE ALREADY CONTRIBUTED SOME DOLS 220,000 TO THE ICRC EFFORT IN SHABA, OR ABOUT 20 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL. WE ARE PREPARED TO DO MORE THROUGH THE ICRC AS JUSTIFIED, BUT NOT IF WE HEAR CONTINUED REPORTS OF FAZ COMMANDEERING OF RED CROSS SUPPLIES.

9. WE HAVE BEEN THINKING ABOUT THE POSSIBLE USE OF TITLE II, AGAIN IF THERE IS AN IDENTIFIED NEED AND ASSURANCE OF PROPER MONITORING AND DISTRIBUTION. AT BOTH PARIS AND BRUSSELS THE BELGIANS SPOKE AS THOUGH THEY WERE PREPARED TO SET UP MONITORING AND DISTRIBUTION CONTROLS IN ZAIRE. PLEASE FOLLOW UP WITH THEM AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES AND LET US KNOW IF YOU CAN RECOMMEND A TITLE II PROGRAM. VANCE

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PAGE 01 STATE 160124
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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY IO/UNA:BJSHARP
APPROVED BY IO/UNA:JFTEFFT

S/S-O:KDSCOTT

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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 160124

EXDIS FROM UNA

FOL RPT STATE 160124 ACTION KINSHASA 23 JUN 78 QUOTE

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UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, DISASTER RELIEF, COMBAT OPERATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE160124
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: LWALKER:JR
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780262-0321
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780625/aaaaavjz.tel
Line Count: 412
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 4f72a182-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 78 KINSHASA 6429, 78 KINSHASA 6507
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2224901
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FY -78 ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR ZAIRE: REQUEST FOR RECOMMENDATIONS
TAGS: EAID, MOPS, US, CG
To: KINSHASA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/4f72a182-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014